Legal socialization and selective exposure to "cop-watching" websites

Richard K. Moule Jr.

Megan M. Parry
&
Bryanna Fox

Abstract:
Purpose – The legitimacy crisis faced by law enforcement has been suggested to be the result of a new media environment where citizens can record encounters with police and place these recordings online. The purpose of this paper is to examine the motives of individuals who cop-watch, or record the police, but not the factors influencing visiting cop-watching websites.
Design/methodology/approach – Using a cross-sectional, national sample of 702 American adults, and drawing on theories of legal socialization and selective exposure, the current study examines the prevalence and correlates visiting "cop-watching" websites.
Findings – Approximately 9 percent of the sample reports having ever visited these sites. Results from a series of logistic regressions indicate legal cynicism is positively associated with having ever visited these sites, having done so recently, following these sites on social media and visiting these sites more frequently after Ferguson. Police legitimacy reduced the likelihood that individuals had ever visited these sites, but was unrelated to other outcomes.
Research limitations/implications – The cross-sectional nature of the survey precludes discussion of causality, but results are fairly consistent with theoretical expectations.
Originality/value – The current study reflects an early attempt to understand correlates of public consumption of "cop-watching" material.

Keywords: Legitimacy, Cop-watching, Legal cynicism, Legal socialization, Selective exposure

American policing is currently experiencing a legitimacy crisis (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015). In the wake of the civil unrest and police response seen in Ferguson, MO and other cities, criticisms of police relating to poor treatment of citizens[1] have gained in prominence and attention. These criticisms emerged and spread, in part, because citizens are now able to record interactions with police on their mobile phones (Antony and Thomas, 2010; Greer and McLaughlin, 2010). Largely, the shared recordings have captured a number of mostly negative, violent and at times lethal encounters between police and the public (e.g. Eric Garner in New York, Walter Scott in South Carolina; Santora, 2014; Schmidt and Apuzzo, 2015). These videos have, in turn, gained visibility due to social media pages and websites dedicated to citizen filming of the police ("cop-watching") and maintaining a critical eye toward police. These websites, such as "Photography is Not a Crime, CopBlock and CopWatch" (Brucato, 2015; Miller, 2016), provide platforms for individuals to upload, disseminate and view recordings of negative encounters between citizens and police.

Although research is beginning to examine the motives and methods influencing citizen recording of police encounters, scant research has examined the audience for these videos. Videos are recorded and then disseminated online specifically for public consumption, but little is known regarding who visits these websites, how often they do so, or the correlates of this behavior (Huey et al., 2006). The creation and dissemination of recordings are intended to, first, keep police accountable to the public; and second, inform and influence public perceptions of police (Walker and Archbold, 2013). Who seeks out this content? Evidence suggests filming the police is based on normative orientations toward police and law (Bock, 2016). These same beliefs may also influence the visiting cop-watching websites, though this remains an open empirical question.

To assess correlates of visiting these sites, we draw from theories of selective exposure and legal socialization. Selective exposure recognizes that individuals seek out information consistent with their beliefs while also potentially avoiding information inconsistent with these beliefs (Sears and Freedman, 1967). Legal socialization provides the basis for these beliefs and links perceptions of police to individual behavior. We focus on two domains of legal socialization: legitimacy and legal cynicism. Legitimacy reflects confidence and trust in police (Tyler, 2006), while cynicism reflects a skepticism or wariness of police and the law (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998). These domains parallel the accounts of individuals who engage in cop-watching (Bock, 2016), and we anticipate are shared by visitors of cop-watching sites. As visiting these websites may influence perceptions of police (Intravia et al., 2018; Parry et al., 2019), understanding who visits these sites, and the correlates of doing so, is an important topic to address.

The current study examines the visitation of websites that host videos of negative police–citizen encounters by the American public. Using a national sample of American adults, and drawing on theories of selective exposure and legal socialization, we examine the prevalence and correlates of visiting these sites. Our goal is to elaborate on the characteristics of the audience for whom cop-watching is conducted and disseminated. We begin by discussing cop-watching and the new media environment surrounding police.

Law enforcement, the new media environment and cop-watching

Sources of information about law enforcement were historically limited to television and newspaper accounts of events, and commonly presented police in a positive light (Brown, 2015; Chermak and Weiss, 2005; Goldsmith, 2010; Macnamara, 2010). Often, media presentations of events involving police often aligned heavily with police narratives, overlooking citizen perspectives of encounters and events (Brucato, 2015). Further, the ability for news stories to reach citizens was often been limited to the local level for all but major events. As technology has advanced, the reach of local events has also expanded, thanks largely to citizen journalism (Starr, 2005).

Citizen journalism involves individuals not affiliated with traditional media outlets recording and distributing newsworthy events (Allan, 2009). Often, this involves "sousveillance," or counter-surveillance, where individuals who lack power or authority surveil those in power. Sousveillance is intended to be a tool of accountability against authority figures (Mann and Ferenbok, 2013; Toch, 2012). When sousveillance involves citizen observations and recordings of police, it is referred to as cop-watching (Schaefer and Steinmetz, 2014). Cop-watching typically focuses on police–citizen interactions, and has been practiced since the 1960s (Toch, 2012). Perhaps the most famous cop-watching video, the beating of Rodney King in 1991, featured prominently on local and national news, was introduced as evidence in the trials of the officers involved, and sparked debates regarding police use of force and race in America (Brown, 2015; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993).

These same issues persist today, as technological advances such as smart phones and the internet have increased the ability of cop-watchers to reach the public (Coudert et al., 2015; Parry et al., 2019; Pyrooz et al., 2016). Further, the prevalence of social media and specialty sites means that traditional news media are no longer the only outlets through which an encounter can be disseminated (Brucato, 2015). Websites and social media groups have formed to support and train cop-watchers in addition to acting as a platform for sharing and viewing videos of police (e.g. CopBlock)[2]. Many of these sites or groups claim not to oppose the police, only police misconduct and brutality. That said, some do emphasize negative stories of police–citizen encounters or speak of police in derogatory terms.

Research is beginning to examine the motives and methods associated with cop-watching (Bock, 2016; Huey et al., 2006), but has not focused on visiting cop-watching sites. Because videos are uploaded and disseminated for online audiences, it is necessary to understand who seeks out this content. Two domains of legal socialization – legitimacy and legal cynicism – may influence exposure to websites and media critical of police.

Legal socialization

Legal socialization is an umbrella term referring the processes that produce beliefs, perceptions and orientations about the law and legal authorities (Tapp, 1976; Trinkner and Cohn, 2014; Tyler, 2006). We concentrate on two domains within legal socialization: legitimacy and

legal cynicism. Both domains emphasize the influence of direct and vicarious experiences with police as influencing perceptions of law enforcement and the law (Brunson, 2007; Tyler, 2006). These beliefs and perceptions influence individual behavior, which we later argue extends to exposure to cop-watching sites.

The first domain of legal socialization is legitimacy, or trust in police. Legitimacy is cultivated through procedural just treatment (Tyler, 2006). When police are seen as being procedurally just – being respectful toward citizens, making decisions based on the facts of a given situation, and explaining decisions to citizens – they will be seen as legitimate (Tyler, 2006). Legitimacy influences citizen behavior. Citizens who view police as more legitimate exhibit a greater willingness to cooperate with and empower them, and comply with the law (Moule, Burruss, Parry and Fox, 2019; Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler, 2006). Generally, legitimacy corresponds with more supportive citizen views of, and behaviors toward, police.

The second domain is legal cynicism, or the belief that "laws or rules are not considered binding in the existential, present lives of respondents" (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998, p. 786). Cynicism emerges due to negative interactions with police and negative vicarious experiences conveyed by friends, family and media (Carr et al., 2007). When police behave in unjust ways, such as engaging in excessive force or abusing their authority (Huq et al., 2016), it reduces their moral authority (Piquero et al., 2005). Legal cynicism has consequences for citizen behavior, including increased involvement in offending and other forms of antisocial behavior (Piquero et al., 2005; Reisig et al., 2011).

Legal socialization results in a powerful set of beliefs, preferences and worldview. Indeed, legitimacy and cynicism act as frames that shape individual decision making and behavior (Kirk and Papachristos, 2011). The influence of these beliefs likely extends beyond cooperation and compliance. We anticipate these beliefs also shape the media and sources of information people seek out and consume in relation to police. This is consistent with selective exposure theory.

Selective exposure theory

Selective exposure refers to the tendency of individuals to seek out sources of information that comport with their beliefs while potentially avoiding information inconsistent with these beliefs (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). The advent of the internet and social media has produced more opportunities for information consumption. Users have more control over the information they see, compared to other mediums (Valentino et al., 2009). The increased control offered by the web has important implications for selective exposure to different kinds of media.

In the digital age, individuals continue to consume information and visit sources of information that reinforce or support their beliefs (Garrett et al., 2013; Knobloch-Westerwick and Meng, 2009; Wojcieszak, 2019; Stroud, 2011). For example, political orientations shape exposure to media sources and content (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012; Stroud, 2008), and individuals follow others on social media who share their beliefs (Bakshy et al., 2015). Overall, evidence indicates individual dispositions shape exposure to information and information sources online (Arendt et al., 2016).

Does seeking out information that comports with one's beliefs mean that individuals avoid media or content that challenge these beliefs? Avoiding opinion-challenging information is relatively rare (Bennett and Iyengar, 2008; Garrett and Stroud, 2014). Examining political news consumption, Garrett (2009a, b) found that individuals did not avoid information on rival candidates. Recent evidence also suggests avoidance is relatively rare (Wagner, 2016; Weeks et al., 2016). Despite its rarity, examining if individuals avoid exposure to certain forms of information is a core component of selective exposure (Jang, 2014). Avoidance may be most common when information poses a challenge to deeply held individual beliefs, such as challenging views about leaders or heroes (Sweeny et al., 2010). Such a suggestion may well be applicable to negative depictions of police.

The political information and orientations common to selective exposure research neglects other possible individual-level characteristics that may contribute to seeking out media content and sources of that content (Hasebrink and Popp, 2006). We consider selective exposure in the context of cop-watching websites. Normative orientations toward the law and police may influence exposure to these sites. Tentative evidence supports this link. The cop-watchers interviewed by Bock (2016) indicated a distrust of government, a wariness of police and concerns regarding police abuses of power. These concerns echo the domains of legal socialization discussed above, though a more explicit assessment of the back-end processes associated with this phenomenon – visiting cop-watching websites – is necessary.

Current study

Videos of police–citizen encounters are placed online with the intent of being consumed by third parties. The current study thus asks two research questions:

RQ1. What is the prevalence of visiting these types of websites?

RQ2. What are the correlates of visiting these websites?

Drawing from theories of selective exposure and legal socialization, we examine whether legitimacy and legal cynicism influence visiting cop-watching websites. Consistent with selective exposure, we expect higher levels of legal cynicism to increase exposure to these sites. Higher levels of legitimacy would, best case scenario, have no effect on this behavior, and at worst, result in avoidance of these sites. We specify the following hypotheses:

H1. Consistent with the opinion-reinforcement dimension of selective exposure, higher levels of legal cynicism will increase the likelihood and frequency of individuals visiting these websites.

H2. Consistent with selective avoidance dimension of selective exposure, higher levels of perceived police legitimacy will reduce the likelihood and frequency of individuals visiting these websites.

Answering these questions will provide insights into factors influencing the visiting of cop-watching sites. We next describe the data and methods used to answer our research questions.

Data and methods

Data used in the current study consists of a national sample of 702 American adults surveyed as part of a broader examination of perceptions of police. Data were collected in the Spring of 2017 using Qualtrics' online survey service[3]. Research suggests Qualtrics is able to effectively capture respondents who closely reflect US Census characteristics (e.g. gender, race, educational attainment, income, marital status and urbanicity; Heen et al., 2014). The service contains over 13m diverse users who are solicited to participate in surveys and is increasingly being used in social science research (e.g. Wright and Skagerberg, 2012). Respondents were selected from Qualtrics' list of survey participants using stratified random sampling procedures. Participants were stratified on gender, race and household income to mirror the composition of American adults from the 2010 US Census[4].

To determine whether the sample significantly differs from the 2010 Census, z tests for sample vs population proportions were conducted (VanVoorhis and Morgan, 2007). Data from the 2010 Census and related government sources were used to calculate population estimates (e.g. US Census Bureau, 2010; American Community Survey, 2010a). Results of these z tests suggest the present sample does not significantly differ from the US population in terms of gender, percentage of White respondents, marital status, veteran status and most income categories (see Table AII). Some statistical differences with regard to the percentage of Black and Hispanic respondents, as well as age categories and some income levels, were observed. Despite these differences, this sample is largely characteristic of the broader US population.

A total of 705 individuals completed the survey instrument; three individuals were removed for failing instructional manipulation checks (Oppenheimer et al., 2009). The remaining participants entered and completed the survey in a satisfactory manner. Responses were required for all questions, resulting in no missing data. Surveys were completed in an average of 18 min, and respondents were compensated above industry standards ($3 upon completion) to encourage high response and completion rates.

The data are well suited for examining public visiting of cop-watching websites. Prior research has focused on the motives for recording the police and has largely been descriptive. Although an important and useful benchmark, this research has been unable to provide a general prevalence of exposure to cop-watching websites or the correlates of this behavior. As we describe below, the data allow for a robust assessment of the prevalence and correlates of visiting cop-watching sites.

Dependent variables
The current study examines four outcomes relating to the visiting of cop-watching websites. Respondents were asked if they had "Ever visited websites such as CopBlock, CopWatch or Photography is Not a Crime, where citizens upload videos of citizen encounters with police?" We specify these sites as they have featured prominently in prior research (Bock, 2016; Brucato, 2015). Second, respondents were asked if they had visited any of these types of websites in the past month. Third, respondents were asked if they follow any of these sites on social media. Responses to each question were dummy-coded (1 = yes, 0 = no). Fourth, to gauge whether the events in Ferguson influenced visiting these sites, respondents were asked, "Compared to before August of 2014,

would you say you now visit these sites […]?" Response categories ranged from 1 (less often) to 3 (more often). Responses were recoded, where more frequent visiting of sites after Ferguson was "1" and the other responses "0."

Independent variables

Legal cynicism is a four-item scale measuring respondents' skepticism toward, and wariness of, the law and its agents (Moule, Fox and Parry, 2019; Moule, Burruss, Gifford, Parry and Fox, 2019; Sampson and Bartusch, 1998). Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each of the following items: first, laws are meant to be broken; second, it is okay to do anything you want; third, there are no right or wrong ways to make money; and fourth, a person has to live without thinking about the future. Response options for each item ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Items were summed, with higher scores indicating greater cynicism. The scale exhibits sound psychometric properties (mean inter-item r = 0.42, α = 0.74).

Police legitimacy is an eight-item scale measuring positive feelings toward police. Measures of trust in police and obligation to obey were adapted from prior research (Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler, 2006). Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed with the following items: first, most police officers do their job well; second, I respect the police and their authority; third, I trust police officers; fourth, I am confident in law enforcement; fifth, in general, police officers act professionally; sixth, the police can be trusted to make decisions that are best for my community; seventh, you should accept police decisions, even if you think they are wrong; and eighth, you should do what the police tell you even if you disagree. Responses to each item ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) and were summed. Higher scores indicate stronger perceptions of police legitimacy. The scale is psychometrically sound (mean inter-item r = 0.55, α = 0.90).

Legitimacy and legal cynicism are conceptually related but should be empirically distinct. To determine whether this is the case, factor analysis using promax rotation was conducted. As shown in Table AI, a three-factor solution (trust in police, obligation to obey and legal cynicism) was found, with no cross-loadings, indicating these variables are distinct. Consistent with prior research (Reisig et al., 2007), we combined the trust and obligation items into a single scale of legitimacy.

Hours spent online is a measure of time spent online for recreational purposes. Respondents were asked "How many hours each week would you say you spend on the Internet for personal use?" (Moule et al., 2013; Pratt et al., 2010; Weiser, 2001). Response categories ranged from 1 (none) to 7 (26 h or more). The response set was originally ordered categorically (e.g. 1 = 0 h, 2 = 1–5 h, 3 = 6–10 h, etc.), but was recoded using meanadjustment (e.g. 1 = 0 h, 2 = 3 h, 3 = 8 h, etc.) (Moule et al., 2013). This creates a meaningful distribution in which unit changes can be more easily interpreted in hours[5].

We account for sociodemographic characteristics that might influence perceptions of police and online behavior. Political conservatism is a two-item scale (r = 0.80), with respondents indicating how fiscally and socially conservative they are. Responses for each item ranged from 1

(extremely liberal) to 4 (extremely conservative). Higher scores indicate more conservative beliefs. We account for respondent age (in years) and whether the respondent is male (= 1, female = 0). Race and ethnicity are accounted for by two dummy variables: whether the respondent is Black (= 1) or Hispanic (= 1; non-Hispanic, White = 0). Educational attainment is a dummy variable indicating the respondent had completed a four-year college degree (= 1, less than college degree = 0). Residence is measured as a dichotomous variable, urban (= 1, suburban or rural = 0). We account for whether the respondent is currently married (= 1, not married = 0) and whether they are a parent (= 1, no children = 0).

Analytic strategy

Our analysis proceeds in three stages. First, we report summary statistics of all study variables. Second, bivariate correlations between study variables are examined for preliminary evidence of empirical relationships between key variables. Third, to assess correlates of visiting cop-watching sites, we use a series of logistic regressions, which are appropriate for dichotomously coded dependent variables (Long, 1997). All analyses were conducted using Stata 13 (StataCorp., College Station, TX).

Results

Summary statistics

Summary statistics for all study variables are presented in Table I. Approximately 9 percent of the sample reported ever having visited websites dedicated to cop-watching, and 6 percent reported having done so in the month prior to being surveyed. Five percent of respondents reported following these sites on social media. In the wake of Ferguson, a small portion of respondents (6 percent) report increased visiting of these sites. These statistics provide a baseline for understanding the prevalence of visiting these websites and answer our first research question.

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Dependent variables				
Visited cop-watching sites ever	9%	–	0	1
Visited cop-watching sites in the past 30 days	6%	–	0	1
Follow cop-watching sites on social media	5%	–	0	1
Increased visitation of cop-watching sites since Ferguson	6%	–	0	1
Independent variables				
Legal cynicism	6.24	2.34	4	16
Police legitimacy	24.65	4.76	8	32
Hours spent online	18.32	8.16	0	28
Black	16%	–	0	1
Hispanic	20%	–	0	1
Male	49%	–	0	1
Urban	29%	–	0	1
Political conservatism	5.08	1.60	2	8
Age	47.64	15.15	18	85
Married	47%	–	0	1
Parent	68%	–	0	1
College graduate	38%	–	0	1

Note: $n = 702$

Table I.
Summary statistics of
study variables

Table II contains zero-order correlations between all study variables and provides preliminary evidence regarding our research hypotheses. Legal cynicism is positively, significantly correlated with each outcome. Legitimacy, on the other hand, is inconsistently, although negatively, correlated with these outcomes. These correlations suggest legal socialization influences exposure to cop-watching websites. These correlations also suggest there is no multicollinearity between study variables as they do not exceed |0.38|, well below the problematic threshold of |0.70| (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977). Additional diagnostics were also conducted. Variance inflation factors and condition indices similarly fell below problematic thresholds (Belsley et al., 1980; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2007). This suggests multicollinearity is not a problem in subsequent multivariate regressions.

Table II.
Zero-order correlations between study variables

	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11
(Y1) Visited cop-watching sites ever	–														
(Y2) Visited cop-watching sites in the past 30 days	0.80*	–													
(Y3) Follow cop-watching sites on social media	0.70*	0.72*	–												
(Y4) Increased visitation of cop-watching sites since Ferguson	0.53*	0.54*	0.36*	–											
(X1) Legal cynicism	0.24*	0.22*	0.20*	0.19*	–										
(X2) Police legitimacy	−0.13*	−0.04	−0.04	−0.08*	−0.17*	–									
(X3) Hours spent online	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.00	0.07	–								
(X4) Black	−0.03	−0.01	−0.02	0.02	0.07	−0.27*	0.04	–							
(X5) Hispanic	0.09*	0.10*	0.10*	0.04	0.06	−0.04	−0.16*	−0.22*	–						
(X6) Male	0.13*	0.13*	0.13*	0.07	0.08*	−0.02	0.00	−0.08*	0.17*	–					
(X7) Urban	0.18*	0.13*	0.15*	0.12	0.17*	−0.12*	0.01	0.15*	0.16*	0.08*	–				
(X8) Political conservatism	−0.09*	−0.10*	−0.06	−0.08	−0.10*	0.29*	−0.06	−0.16*	0.00	0.09*	−0.22*	–			
(X9) Age	−0.24*	−0.19*	−0.15*	−0.17*	−0.25*	0.20*	0.11*	−0.11*	−0.28*	−0.06	−0.15*	0.15*	–		
(X10) Married	0.03	0.05	0.01	0.07	−0.08*	0.12*	−0.03	−0.15*	−0.00	0.10*	−0.09*	0.09*	0.11*	–	
(X11) Parent	−0.00	0.04	0.02	0.04	−0.09*	0.11*	0.02	−0.02	−0.01	0.00	−0.03	0.07	0.27*	0.38*	–
(X12) College graduate	0.08*	0.07	0.07	0.08*	0.04	−0.04	−0.03	−0.04	0.03	0.18	0.02	−0.11*	−0.03	0.18*	−0.00

Notes: $n = 702$. $*p < 0.05$

Tables III–VI contain a series of multivariate logistic regressions predicting visiting copwatching websites. Each table contains three models: Model 1 examines the relationship between legal cynicism and each outcome; Model 2 examines the relationship between legitimacy and each outcome; and Model 3 contains both constructs. Unstandardized beta coefficients and odds ratios are presented for each model.

Table III.
Logistic regressions predicting ever visiting cop-watching sites

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)
Legal cynicism	0.19***	1.21	(0.05)	–	–	–	0.19***	1.21	(0.05)
Police legitimacy	–	–	–	−0.08**	0.92	(0.03)	−0.08**	0.92	(0.03)
Hours spent online	0.02	1.02	(0.02)	0.03	1.03	(0.02)	0.03	1.03	(0.02)
Black	−0.77	0.46	(0.46)	−0.92*	0.40	(0.46)	−1.04*	0.35	(0.48)
Hispanic	−0.16	0.85	(0.35)	−0.28	0.75	(0.35)	−0.22	0.80	(0.36)
Male	0.83*	2.29	(0.32)	0.85**	2.34	(0.32)	0.83*	2.30	(0.33)
Urban	0.72*	2.05	(0.31)	0.91**	2.47	(0.30)	0.76*	2.13	(0.31)
Political conservatism	−0.15	0.86	(0.10)	−0.05	0.95	(0.10)	−0.10	0.90	(0.10)
Age	−0.07***	0.94	(0.01)	−0.08***	0.93	(0.01)	−0.07***	0.94	(0.01)
Married	0.27	1.31	(0.35)	0.32	1.38	(0.35)	0.36	1.44	(0.36)
Parent	0.52	1.68	(0.37)	0.69	1.99	(0.38)	0.63	1.88	(0.38)
College graduate	0.07	1.07	(0.32)	0.14	1.15	(0.31)	0.04	1.04	(0.32)
Constant	−1.65	0.19	(0.88)	1.08	2.93	(0.98)	−0.19	0.83	(1.04)
Model χ^2		91.34***			86.11***			98.05***	
Nagelkerke R^2		0.27			0.26			0.29	

Notes: $n = 702$. *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Table III examines correlates of ever having visited cop-watching websites. Model 1 demonstrates that higher levels of legal cynicism increase the likelihood of ever having visited these sites. A one-unit increase in cynicism corresponds with a roughly 21 percent increase in the odds of visiting these websites. Model 2 shows that individuals who view the police as legitimate were significantly less likely to have ever visited these websites (b = −0.08, p< 0.01). In Model 3, both predictors remain significant when included in the model simultaneously. Being male and residing in an urban area also increase the likelihood of ever viewing these sites, while age reduces the likelihood of ever having done so.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)
Legal cynicism	0.23***	1.26	(0.06)	–	–	–	0.23***	1.26	(0.06)
Police legitimacy	–	–	–	−0.01	0.99	(0.04)	−0.01	0.99	(0.04)
Hours spent online	0.01	1.01	(0.02)	0.02	1.02	(0.02)	0.01	1.01	(0.02)
Black	−0.41	0.66	(0.54)	−0.26	0.77	(0.54)	−0.44	0.64	(0.56)
Hispanic	0.23	1.26	(0.41)	0.12	1.13	(0.40)	0.22	1.25	(0.41)
Male	1.23**	3.41	(0.42)	1.19**	3.28	(0.40)	1.22**	3.40	(0.42)
Urban	0.35	1.41	(0.37)	0.59	1.81	(0.36)	0.35	1.42	(0.37)
Political conservatism	−0.27*	0.76	(0.12)	−0.19	0.83	(0.12)	−0.27*	0.76	(0.12)
Age	−0.06***	0.94	(0.02)	−0.07***	0.93	(0.02)	−0.06***	0.94	(0.02)
Married	0.30	1.35	(0.42)	0.24	1.28	(0.42)	0.31	1.37	(0.43)
Parent	0.98*	2.66	(0.48)	1.00*	2.72	(0.47)	0.99*	2.68	(0.48)
College graduate	−0.02	0.98	(0.39)	0.13	1.14	(0.37)	−0.02	0.98	(0.39)
Constant	−2.51*	0.08	(1.06)	−1.04	0.35	(1.24)	−2.36	0.09	(1.29)
Model χ^2		71.58***			58.31***			71.62***	
Nagelkerke R^2		0.27			0.22			0.27	

Notes: $n = 702$. *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Table IV.
Logistic regressions predicting visiting cop-watching sites within past 30 days

Table IV examines having visited cop-watching websites within the past 30 days. In Model 1, a one-unit increase in legal cynicism increases the odds of having recently viewed these sites by approximately 26 percent. This effect persists in Model 3. As Model 2 shows, legitimacy is not related to recent visitation. Across all models, males and respondents with children are more likely to have recently viewed these sites, whereas older individuals are less likely to have done so.

Table V.
Logistic regressions predicting following cop-watching sites on social media

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)
Legal cynicism	0.19**	1.21	(0.06)	–	–	–	0.19**	1.21	(0.06)
Police legitimacy	–	–	–	−0.01	0.99	(0.04)	−0.01	0.99	(0.04)
Hours spent online	0.02	1.02	(0.02)	0.03	1.03	(0.02)	0.02	1.02	(0.02)
Black	−0.47	0.63	(0.56)	−0.42	0.66	(0.56)	−0.51	0.60	(0.57)
Hispanic	0.22	1.24	(0.42)	0.15	1.16	(0.41)	0.21	1.23	(0.42)
Male	1.10**	3.00	(0.42)	1.12**	3.06	(0.41)	1.09**	2.99	(0.42)
Urban	0.74	2.09	(0.38)	0.92*	2.51	(0.37)	0.74	3.10	(0.38)
Political conservatism	−0.13	0.88	(0.12)	−0.06	0.94	(0.12)	−0.12	0.89	(0.12)
Age	−0.04*	0.96	(0.02)	−0.05**	0.95	(0.02)	−0.04*	0.96	(0.02)
Married	−0.02	0.98	(0.43)	−0.06	0.94	(0.42)	0.00	1.00	(0.43)
Parent	0.57	1.77	(0.46)	0.64	1.9	(0.45)	0.58	1.79	(0.46)
College graduate	0.25	1.28	(0.39)	0.36	1.43	(0.38)	0.24	1.27	(0.39)
Constant	−3.63**	0.03	(1.10)	−2.21	0.11	(1.26)	−3.36*	0.03	(1.31)
Model χ^2	53.47***			44.66***			53.60***		
Nagelkerke R^2	0.21			0.18			0.21		

Notes: $n = 702$. *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Table V examines whether respondents follow cop-watching websites on social media. Model 1 shows that legal cynicism positively influences this behavior. A one-unit increase in legal cynicism increases the odds of following these sites by 21 percent. As shown in Model 2, legitimacy has no effect on this outcome. These findings persist into Model 3. Being male consistently increases the likelihood of following these sites on social media, while age has consistent, negative effects on this behavior.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)	b	OR	(SE)
Legal cynicism	0.16**	1.17	(0.06)	–	–	–	0.16**	1.18	(0.06)
Police legitimacy	–	–	–	−0.06	0.94	(0.04)	−0.06	0.94	(0.04)
Hours spent online	0.04	1.04	(0.02)	0.05*	1.05	(0.02)	0.04	1.04	(0.02)
Black	−0.15	0.86	(0.47)	−0.26	0.77	(0.48)	−0.35	0.71	(0.49)
Hispanic	−0.22	0.81	(0.42)	−0.35	0.70	(0.42)	−0.27	0.77	(0.43)
Male	0.41	1.50	(0.36)	0.42	1.52	(0.36)	0.40	1.49	(0.36)
Urban	0.52	1.69	(0.36)	0.72*	2.05	(0.35)	0.55	1.74	(0.36)
Political conservatism	−0.10	0.90	(0.11)	−0.03	0.97	(0.11)	−0.07	0.93	(0.11)
Age	−0.06***	0.94	(0.02)	−0.07***	0.93	(0.02)	−0.06***	0.94	(0.02)
Married	0.62	1.86	(0.40)	0.67	1.95	(0.40)	0.69	2.00	(0.41)
Parent	0.62	1.86	(0.45)	0.78	2.19	(0.45)	0.71	2.04	(0.45)
College graduate	0.23	1.26	(0.36)	0.29	1.33	(0.36)	0.20	1.23	(0.37)
Constant	−2.83**	0.06	(1.02)	−0.73	0.48	(1.14)	−1.80	0.17	(1.19)
Model χ^2	55.14***			50.35***			57.76***		
Nagelkerke R^2	0.21			0.19			0.21		

Table VI.
Logistic regressions predicting increased visiting of cop-watching websites since Ferguson

Notes: $n = 702$. *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Table VI examines whether respondents visiting of cop-watching websites increased following August of 2014. Model 1 demonstrates higher levels of legal cynicism increase the odds of more frequent visiting of these sites by roughly 17 percent, with similar results in Model 3. Legitimacy has no effect on this behavior. Older individuals are less likely to have visited these sites following the events of Ferguson[6].

These findings suggest legal socialization contributes to the visitation of cop-watching websites. Specifically, results show strong support for H1; higher levels of legal cynicism increased the likelihood and frequency of visiting cop-watching websites, consistent with the opinion-reinforcement dimension of selective exposure theory. With one exception, results generally do not support H2; higher levels of legitimacy had little effect on visiting cop-watching sites. We further discuss these findings in the following section.

Discussion

Technology, media and on-going tensions with the public have coalesced into the legitimacy crisis currently facing American police. Following the events of Ferguson, MO and elsewhere, criticisms of police have abounded. These criticisms emerged, in part, because citizens are able to record interactions with police and have captured a number of troubling interactions with law enforcement. Many videos gained visibility due to social media and websites dedicated to cop-watching. Although some research has examined the motives of cop-watchers (Bock, 2016), little research has explored the audience for this content. Drawing from theories of selective exposure and legal socialization, and using a national sample of American adults, the current study examined the prevalence and correlates of visiting cop-watching sites. Findings warrant three broader points of discussion.

First, findings provide a baseline for understanding public visiting of cop-watching websites. Visiting these sites appears to be relatively rare; roughly 9 percent of respondents had ever done so, with a smaller percentage having done so recently, and, more generally, in the wake

of Ferguson. Few respondents reported following these sites on social media. These findings suggest the public rarely seeks out these specific sources of information about police. This may be due to the overall higher esteem that police are held in by the public (Norman, 2017). Future research should examine the frequency of exposure to specific depictions of law enforcement via social media platforms (Twitter, Facebook) and the role that social networks may play in facilitating this exposure.

　　　　Second, legal socialization influenced exposure to cop-watching websites. Consistent with selective exposure theory, legal cynicism is a robust correlate of this behavior. This finding lends empirical support to the ethnographic accounts of cop-watching captured by Bock (2016). In contrast, police legitimacy corresponded with reduced odds of ever having visited cop-watching websites, but not other behaviors. Recent research highlights contingencies which may contribute to the generally null findings between legitimacy and exposure to cop-watching sites. Awareness and perceived relevance of these sites and the credibility of these sites may all influence their use (Metzger et al., 2015; Mummolo, 2016). Future work should examine the role that these mechanisms play with respect to visiting cop-watching sites.

　　　　 Other factors also influenced exposure to cop-watching websites. Higher levels of conservatism reduced the likelihood of having recently visited cop-watching sites; older individuals were consistently less likely to have visited these sites. Some evidence suggests conservatism is associated with avoiding attitude-inconsistent information (Jost et al., 2003). We are unaware of any police–citizen encounter from the early part of 2017 that may have contributed to this finding, though discussions of law, order and the "war on police" featured prominently in the 2016 Presidential election (Blake, 2016). It also appears that visiting cop-watching sites is age graded. Examining how different age groups use the web, and how this may influence perceptions of police, would be worthwhile. Exploring the convergence of normative and political orientations for selective exposure and the ecological contexts in which this convergence occurs would be a next logical step for this research.

　　　　To be sure, individuals can be exposed to cop-watching-related media through other outlets. These videos can be found on social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) or news sites (Fox News, MSNBC)[7]. We avoided asking respondents about viewing cop-watching media on specific social media sites because many use algorithms to provide videos to users rather than users seeking out content (Dylko, 2015). Exploring website usage and media or content consumption, in relation to cop-watching, and correlates of these behaviors, would be worthwhile. Likewise, it is necessary to examine the motivations or concerns for visiting cop-watching websites. Do cynical individuals seek out this media to affirm their views that laws are not applicable to everyday life, because they feel police are not held accountable, or for other reasons? What are the behavioral consequences of exposure to cop-watching sites? Could engaging in cop-watching be a behavioral manifestation of legal cynicism in the era of web ubiquity? Overall, there remains much research to be done in this area.

　　　　The current study is not without limitations. First, the study is cross-sectional, and we interpret all findings as correlational. There may be reciprocal links between exposure to police-

related media and domains of legal socialization (Dahlgren et al., 2019). Visiting these sites may increase cynicism. Given the cross-sectional nature of our data, we cannot tease apart these linkages. Exploring these links should be a priority of future research. Second, respondents were asked about visiting specific websites. This approach, compared to asking general questions about viewing videos or websites of police, provides a conservative estimate of behavior. Third, respondents were not asked about pro-police websites (e.g. BlueLivesMatter.blue). We are unaware of research on the use of these sites. As visiting these sites may also be shaped by legal socialization, this topic is worthy of study. Fourth, other factors, such as being drawn to depictions of aggression or violence (Weaver, 2011), may influence visiting these sites. Although we are unable to address these considerations, future research would do well in exploring them.

The use of an online sample must also be addressed. Online samples offer a time and cost effective method of conducting research and are particularly appropriate for studying online behaviors like those examined here. Although convenience samples from online platforms can underrepresent minority individuals, one of the best way to combat this (as we do here) is through the use of survey panels where sample characteristics can be specified by researchers (Heen et al., 2014). In their comparison of online sampling platforms, Heen et al. (2014) found Qualtrics to provide samples within a 10 percent range of the actual population, suggesting results should generalize beyond the current sample. An additional concern of online surveys is that respondents might hurry through the survey, providing invalid responses (Oppenheimer et al., 2009). To guard against this, instructional manipulation checks were included to identify suspect responses and exclude respondents who failed any of those checks.

In the end, better understanding the sources of information people seek out and the factors shaping these behaviors is necessary. This is especially true as new technologies allow for the public to film and disseminate encounters with police, and as divisions between the public and law enforcement persist. Neither these technologies, nor divided views on police, are likely to fade away. The current study examined the audience for cop-watching videos, and we encourage future research to continue exploring other aspects of the intersection between citizens, police and technology.

Notes
1. We use "citizen" to denote individuals who are not in law enforcement.
2. Other groups are also involved, to varying degrees, in recording the police. The American Civil Liberties Union developed a mobile application for recording police and has engaged in lawsuits to protect the right of the public to record the police (American Civil Liberties Union, 2016, 2018).
3. For more information on Qualtrics, please see www.qualtrics.com.
4. This corresponds with the following criteria used for present study. Gender: 50 percent male, 50 percent female; race: 60 percent white, 20 percent Black, 20 percent Hispanic; annual household income: 14 percent under $15,000, 16 percent $15,000–$29,999, 14 percent $30,000–$44,999, 12 percent $45,000–$59,999, 10 percent $60,000–$74,999, 10 percent $75,000–$89,999, 11 percent $90,000–$124,999, 9 percent $125,000–199,999, 4 percent over $200,000. 5. Full original

response categories for this variable are as follows: 1 (none), 2 (1–5 h), 3 (6–10 h), 4 (11–15 h), 5 (16–20 h), 6 (21–25 h) and 7 (26 h or more).

6. Reviewers suggested alternative model specifications. First, models were re-run with the original hours spent online variable. Results were similar to those presented here, with one exception. In Table VI, Model 2, time spent online was positively, significantly related to visiting sites more in the aftermath of Ferguson (OR= 1.28, po0.05). Reviewers also suggested re-running models in Table VI as an ordered logistic regression. Each model failed the proportional odds assumption, meaning we must reject the null hypothesis that there are no differences in the coefficients between models (see https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/stata/dae/ordered-logistic-regression/). Multinomial logistic regressions were instead run. Legal cynicism was not associated with decreased visiting of these sites after Ferguson, but was significantly related to visiting these sites more often, relative to visiting them about the same amount. Legitimacy was not associated with these behaviors. These findings suggest our results are robust. We thank the anonymous reviewers for these helpful suggestions.

7. We thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this suggestion.

References

Allan, S. (2009), "Histories of citizen journalism", in Allan, S. and Thorsen, E. (Eds), Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives, Peter Lang Publishing, New York City, NY, pp. 17-32.

American Civil Liberties Union (2016), "ACLU lawsuit defends right to record police in public performance of duties", available at: www.aclu.org/news/aclu-lawsuit-defends-right-recordpolice-public-performance-duties

American Civil Liberties Union (2018), "ACLU apps to record police conduct", available at: www.aclu.org/issues/criminal-law-reform/reforming-police-practices/aclu-apps-record-police-conduct

American Community Survey (2010a), "Marital status, 2008-2010 American community survey 3-year estimates", available at: https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview. xhtml?pid=ACS_10_3YR_S1201&prodType=table

American Community Survey (2010b), "Veteran status, 2008-2010 American community survey 3-year estimates", available at: https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview. xhtml?pid=ACS_10_3YR_S2101&prodType=table

Antony, M.G. and Thomas, R.J. (2010), "This is citizen journalism at its finest': YouTube and the public sphere in the Oscar Grant shooting incident", New Media & Society, Vol. 12, pp. 1280-1296.

Arendt, F., Steindl, N. and Kümpel, A. (2016), "Implicit and explicit attitudes as predictors of gatekeeping, selective exposure, and news sharing: testing a general model of media-related selection", Journal of Communication, Vol. 66, pp. 717-740.

Bakshy, E., Messing, S. and Adamic, L.A. (2015), "Exposure to ideologically diverse news and opinion on Facebook", Science, Vol. 348, pp. 1130-1132.

Belsley, D.A., Kuh, E. and Welsch, R.E. (1980), Regression Diagnostics: Identifying Influential Data and Sources of Collinearity, John Wiley & Sons, New York, NY.

Bennett, W.L. and Iyengar, S. (2008), "A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of political communication", Journal of Communication, Vol. 58, pp. 707-731.

Blake, A. (2016), "The first Trump-Clinton presidential debate transcript, annotated", 26 September, available at: www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/26/the-first-trump-clintonpresidential-debate-transcript-annotated

Bock, M.A. (2016), "Film the police! Cop-watching and its embodied narratives", Journal of Communication, Vol. 66, pp. 13-34.

Brown, G.R. (2015), "The blue line on thin ice: police use of force modifications in the era of cameraphones and YouTube", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 56, pp. 293-312.

Brucato, B. (2015), "The new transparency: police violence in the context of ubiquitous surveillance", Media and Communication, Vol. 3, pp. 39-55.

Brunson, R.K. (2007), " 'Police don't like black people': African-American young men's accumulated police experiences", Criminology & Public Policy, Vol. 6, pp. 71-101.

Carr, P.J., Napolitano, L. and Keating, J. (2007), "We never call the cops and here is why: a qualitative examination of legal cynicism in three Philadelphia neighborhoods", Criminology, Vol. 45, pp. 445-480.

Chermak, S. and Weiss, A. (2005), "Maintaining legitimacy using external communication strategies: an analysis of police-media relations", Journal of Criminal Justice, Vol. 33, pp. 501-512.

Coudert, F., Butin, D. and Le Métayer, D. (2015), "Body-worn cameras for police accountability: opportunities and risks", Computer Law & Security Review, Vol. 31, pp. 749-762.

Dahlgren, P.M., Shehata, A. and Strömbäck, J. (2019), "Reinforcing spirals at work? Mutual influences between selective news exposure and ideological leaning", European Journal of Communication, Vol. 34, pp. 159-174.

Dylko, I.B. (2015), "How technology encourages political selective exposure", Communication Theory, Vol. 26, pp. 389-409. Garrett, R.K. (2009a), "Echo chambers online?: Politically motivated selective exposure among Internet news users", Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, Vol. 14, pp. 265-285.

Garrett, R.K. (2009b), "Politically motivated reinforcement seeking: reframing the selective exposure debate", Journal of Communication, Vol. 59, pp. 676-699.

Garrett, R.K. and Stroud, N.J. (2014), "Partisan paths to exposure diversity: differences in pro-and counterattitudinal news consumption", Journal of Communication, Vol. 64, pp. 680-701.

Garrett, R.K., Carnahan, D. and Lynch, E.K. (2013), "A turn toward avoidance? Selective exposure to online political information, 2004–2008", Political Behavior, Vol. 35, pp. 113-134.

Gil de Zúñiga, H., Correa, T. and Valenzuela, S. (2012), "Selective exposure to cable news and immigration in the US: the relationship between FOX News, CNN, and attitudes toward Mexican immigrants", Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, Vol. 56, pp. 597-615.

Goldsmith, A.J. (2010), "Policing's new visibility", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 50, pp. 914-934.

Greer, C. and McLaughlin, E. (2010), "We predict a riot? Public order policing, new media environments and the rise of the citizen journalist", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 50, pp. 1041-1059.

Hanushek, E.A. and Jackson, J.E. (1977), Statistical Methods for Social Scientists, Academic Press, San Diego, CA.

Hasebrink, U. and Popp, J. (2006), "Media repertoires as a result of selective media use. A conceptual approach to the analysis of patterns of exposure", Communications, Vol. 31, pp. 369-387.

Heen, M.S.J., Lieberman, J.D. and Miethe, T.D. (2014), "A comparison of different online sampling approaches for generating national samples", available at: www.unlv.edu/sites/default/files/ page_files/27/ComparisonDifferentOnlineSampling.pdf

Huey, L., Walby, K. and Doyle, A. (2006), "Cop watching in the downtown eastside: Exploring the use of (counter) surveillance as a tool of resistance", in Monahan, T. (Ed.), Surveillance and Security: Technological Politics and Power in Everyday Life, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 149-165.

Huq, A.Z., Jackson, J. and Trinkner, R. (2016), "Legitimating practices: revisiting the predicates of police legitimacy", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 57 No. 5, pp. 1101-1122.

Intravia, J., Wolff, K.T. and Piquero, A.R. (2018), "Investigating the effects of media consumption on attitudes toward police legitimacy", Deviant Behavior, Vol. 39, pp. 963-980.

Jang, S.M. (2014), "Challenges to selective exposure: selective seeking and avoidance in a multitasking media environment", Mass Communication and Society, Vol. 17, pp. 665-688.

Jost, J.T., Glaser, J., Kruglanski, A.W. and Sulloway, F.J. (2003), "Political conservatism as motivated social cognition", Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 129, pp. 339-375.

Kirk, D.S. and Papachristos, A.V. (2011), "Cultural mechanisms and the persistence of neighborhood violence", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 116, pp. 1190-1233.

Knobloch-Westerwick, S. and Meng, J. (2009), "Looking the other way: selective exposure to attitude-consistent and counterattitudinal political information", Communication Research, Vol. 36, pp. 426-448.

Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H. (1944), The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up his Mind in a Presidential Election, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, NY.

Long, J.S. (1997), Regression Models for Categorical and Limited Dependent Variables, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Macnamara, J. (2010), The 21st Century Media (r)evolution: Emergent Communication Practices, Peter Lang Publishing, New York, NY.

Mann, S. and Ferenbok, J. (2013), "New media and the power politics of sousveillance in a surveillancedominated world", Surveillance & Society, Vol. 11, pp. 18-34.

Metzger, M.J., Hartsell, E.H. and Flanagin, A.J. (2015), "Cognitive dissonance or credibility? A comparison of two theoretical explanations for selective exposure to partisan news", Communication Research, doi: 10.1177/0093650215613136.

Miller, K. (2016), "Watching the watchers: theorizing cops, cameras, and police legitimacy in the 21st century", in Deflem, M. (Ed.), The Politics of Policing: Between Force and Legitimacy, Emerald Group Publishing Ltd, Bingley, pp. 257-276.

Moule, R.K. Jr, Fox, B.H. and Parry, M.M. (2019), "The long shadow of ferguson: legitimacy, legal cynicism, and public perceptions of police militarization", Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 65, pp. 151-182.

Moule, R.K. Jr, Pyrooz, D.C. and Decker, S.H. (2013), "From 'what the f#@% is a Facebook?' to 'Who doesn't use Facebook?': the role of criminal lifestyles in the adoption and use of the Internet", Social Science Research, Vol. 42, pp. 1411-1421.

Moule, R.K. Jr, Burruss, G.W., Parry, M.M. and Fox, B. (2019), "Assessing the direct and indirect effects of legitimacy on public empowerment of police: a study of public support for police militarization in America", Law and Society Review, Vol. 53, pp. 77-107.

Moule, R.K. Jr, Burruss, G.W., Gifford, F.E., Parry, M.M. and Fox, B. (2019), "Legal socialization and subcultural norms: examining linkages between perceptions of procedural justice, legal cynicism, and the code of the street", Journal of Criminal Justice, Vol. 61, pp. 26-39.

Mummolo, J. (2016), "News from the other side: how topic relevance limits the prevalence of partisan selective exposure", The Journal of Politics, Vol. 78, pp. 763-773. Norman, J. (2017), "Confidence in police back at historical average", Gallup, available at: https://news. gallup.com/poll/213869/confidence-police-back-historical-average.aspx

Oppenheimer, D.M., Meyvis, T. and Davidenko, N. (2009), "Instructional manipulation checks: detecting satisficing to increase statistical power", Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 45, pp. 867-872.

Parry, M.M., Moule, R.K. Jr and Dario, L.M. (2019), "Technology-mediated exposure to police-citizen encounters: a quasi-experimental assessment of consequences for citizen perceptions", Justice Quarterly, Vol. 36, pp. 412-436.

Piquero, A.R., Fagan, J., Mulvey, E.P., Steinberg, L. and Odgers, C. (2005), "Developmental trajectories of legal socialization among serious adolescent offenders", The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, Vol. 96, pp. 267-298.

Pratt, T.C., Holtfreter, K. and Reisig, M.D. (2010), "Routine online activity and internet fraud targeting: extending the generality of routine activity theory", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 47 No. 3, pp. 267-296.

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015), "Final report of the president's task force on 21st century policing", Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, Washington, DC.

Pyrooz, D.C., Moule, R.K. Jr and Decker, S.H. (2016), "Closing the digital divide in criminological and criminal justice research", ACJS Today, Vol. XLI, pp. 1-12.

Reisig, M.D., Bratton, J. and Gertz, M.C. (2007), "The construct validity and refinement of process-based policing measures", Criminal Justice and Behavior, Vol. 34, pp. 1005-1028.

Reisig, M.D., Wolfe, S.E. and Holtfreter, K. (2011), "Legal cynicism, legitimacy, and criminal offending: the nonconfounding effect of low self-control", Criminal Justice and Behavior, Vol. 38, pp. 1265-1279.

Sampson, R.J. and Bartusch, D.J. (1998), "Legal cynicism and (subcultural?) tolerance of deviance: The neighborhood context of racial differences", Law & Society Review, Vol. 32, pp. 777-804.

Santora, M. (2014), "Eric Garner's family to sue New York City over chokehold case", The New York Times, 7 October, available at: www.nytimes.com/2014/10/08/nyregion/eric-garners-family-tosue-new-york-city-over-chokehold-case.html

Schaefer, B.P. and Steinmetz, K.F. (2014), "Watching the watchers and McLuhan's tetrad: the limits of cop-watching in the Internet age", Surveillance & Society, Vol. 12, pp. 502-515.

Schmidt, M.S. and Apuzzo, M. (2015), "South Carolina officer is charged with murder of Walter Scott", The New York Times, 7 April, available at: www.nytimes.com/2015/04/08/us/south-carolinaofficer-is-charged-with-murder-in-black-mans-death.html

Sears, D.O. and Freedman, J.L. (1967), "Selective exposure to information: a critical review", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 31, pp. 194-213.

Skolnick, J.H. and Fyfe, J.J. (1993), Above the Law: Police and the Excessive use of Force, Free Press, New York, NY. Starr, P. (2005), The Creation of The Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications, Basic Books, Cambridge, MA.

Stroud, N.J. (2008), "Media use and political predispositions: revisiting the concept of selective exposure", Political Behavior, Vol. 30, pp. 341-366.

Stroud, N.J. (2011), Niche News: The Politics of News Choice, Oxford University Press, New York, NY.

Sweeny, K., Melnyk, D., Miller, W. and Shepperd, J.A. (2010), "Information avoidance: who, what, when, and why", Review of General Psychology, Vol. 14, pp. 340-353.

Tabachnick, B.G. and Fidell, L.S. (2007), Using Multivariate Statistics, Allyn & Bacon, Boston, MA. Tapp, J.L. (1976), "Psychology and the law: an overture", Annual Review of Psychology, Vol. 27, pp. 359-404.

Toch, H. (2012), Cop watch: Spectators, Social Media, and Police Reform, American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

Trinkner, R. and Cohn, E.S. (2014), "Putting the 'social' back in legal socialization: procedural justice, legitimacy, and cynicism in legal and nonlegal authorities", Law and Human Behavior, Vol. 38, pp. 602-617.

Tyler, T.R. (2006), Why People Obey the Law, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

US Census Bureau (2010), "Profile of general population and housing characteristics: 2010, 2010 demographic profile data", available at: https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/ pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_10_DP_DPDP1&src=pt

US Census Bureau (2011a), "Distribution of annual household income in the United States, 2010 estimate", Current Population Survey, 2011 Annual Social and Economic Supplement, available at: www.census.gov//hhes/www/cpstables/032011/hhinc/new06_000.htm

US Census Bureau (2011b), "Age and sex composition: 2010", available at: www.census.gov/prod/cen20 10/briefs/c2010br-03.pdf

Valentino, N.A., Banks, A.J., Hutchings, V.L. and Davis, A.K. (2009), "Selective exposure in the Internet age: the interaction between anxiety and information utility", Political Psychology, Vol. 30, pp. 591-613.

VanVoorhis, C.W. and Morgan, B.L. (2007), "Understanding power and rules of thumb for determining sample sizes", Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology, Vol. 3 No. 2, pp. 43-50.

Wagner, M. (2016), "Selective exposure, information utility, and the decision to watch televised debates", International Journal of Public Opinion Research, Vol. 29, pp. 533-553.

Walker, S.E. and Archbold, C.A. (2013), The New World of Police Accountability, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA. Weaver, A.J. (2011), "A meta-analytical review of selective exposure to and the enjoyment of media violence", Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, Vol. 55, pp. 232-250.

Weeks, B.E., Ksiazek, T.B. and Holbert, R.L. (2016), "Partisan enclaves or shared media experiences? A network approach to understanding citizens' political news environments", Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, Vol. 60, pp. 248-268.

Weiser, E.B. (2001), "The functions of Internet use and their social and psychological consequences", CyberPsychology & Behavior, Vol. 4, pp. 723-743. Wojcieszak, M. (2019), "What predicts selective exposure online: testing political attitudes, credibility, and social identity", Communication Research, doi: 10.1177/0093650219844868.

Wright, D.B. and Skagerberg, E.M. (2012), "Measuring empathizing and systemizing with a large US sample", PLoS One, Vol. 7 No. 2, p. e31661.

Appendix 1

Scales and items	Pattern loading			Structure loading		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Legitimacy						
Trust						
Most officers do their job well	*0.904*	−0.014	−0.108	*0.853*	−0.175	0.342
I respect police and their authority	*0.788*	−0.152	0.006	*0.819*	−0.296	*0.402*
I trust police officers	*0.884*	0.031	0.019	*0.888*	−0.130	*0.458*
I am confident in law enforcement	*0.904*	0.042	0.001	*0.897*	−0.122	*0.449*
Police officers act professionally	*0.881*	−0.021	−0.025	*0.872*	−0.180	*0.414*
Police can be trusted	*0.757*	0.093	0.173	*0.826*	−0.049	*0.547*
Obligation to obey						
You should accept police decisions, even if you think they are wrong	0.116	0.096	*0.803*	*0.498*	0.053	*0.858*
You should do what the police tell you even if you disagree	−0.067	−0.105	*0.921*	*0.410*	−0.119	*0.891*
Legal cynicism						
Its ok to do anything you want	0.063	*0.784*	−0.021	−0.090	*0.773*	−0.011
There are no right or wrong ways to make money	0.037	*0.766*	−0.100	−0.152	*0.762*	−0.103
Laws are meant to be broken	−0.154	*0.732*	0.068	−0.253	*0.758*	−0.029
A person has to live without thinking about the future	0.019	*0.723*	0.025	−0.100	*0.719*	0.014
Eigenvalue	5.51	2.02	1.01			

Table AI.
Factor analysis of legal socialization scales

Appendix 2

Table AII.
Z tests for sample vs
population
proportions on
demographic
characteristics

	2010 population (%)	Current sample (%)	z	p
Gender – % of male[a]	49.2	48.7	0.3	0.79
Race/ethnicity – % of White[a]	63.7	63.8	0.5	0.95
Race/ethnicity – % of Black[a]	12.2	16.1	3.1	0.00*
Race/ethnicity – % of Hispanic[a]	16.3	20.1	2.7	0.00*
Income – under $15,000[b]	14.0	15.8	1.4	0.16
Income – $15,000–$29,999[b]	16.0	17.2	0.9	0.38
Income – $30,000–$44,999[b]	14.0	15.8	1.4	0.16
Income – $45,000–$59,999[b]	12.0	12.4	0.3	0.74
Income – $60,000–$74,999[b]	10.0	7.8	1.9	0.05
Income – 75,000–$89,999[b]	10.0	7.5	2.2	0.03*
Income – over $90,000[b]	24.0	23.4	0.4	0.70
Age – 18–44[c]	48.1	44.2	2.1	0.04*
Age – 45–64[c]	34.7	41.1	3.6	0.00*
Age – 65 and over[c]	17.2	14.7	1.8	0.08
Marital status – % of married[d]	49.6	47.0	1.4	0.17
Veteran status – % of veteran[e]	9.6	11.1	1.3	0.18

Notes: [a]Gender and race/ethnicity population measures taken from US Census (2010); [b]income information pulled from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement (US Census, 2011a, b) estimate for 2010, rounded; [c]percentage refers to percentage of total adult population (US Census, 2011b); [d]percentage of married refers to population age 15 and over, three-year estimate (American Community Survey, 2010a); [e]percentage of veteran refers to population age 18 and over, three-year estimate (American Community Survey, 2010b). *$p < 0.05$